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cent and helpless. He must sweep fine, upstanding, hopeful manhood from the earth. His own sufferings are not all. He must bring misery and darkness and death upon his fellow-men for the sake of the living principles which we as a nation profess.

Perhaps it is worth the price. Certain it seems now that, as the President has said, "we can do no other." But we shall win more swiftly to that peace, and the liberty for which we slay and lay waste the sweet things of life, if we do not gloss over the price we are paying, if back of the fine names we give it we keep always in mind what blood and treasure really mean.

### EDITORIAL NOTES

#### A Comparison of Figures.

Our so-called "Liberty Loan," the first one probably of a long series, was largely over-subscribed. In the last hours of June 15, with the opportunity of obtaining the bonds about to be closed, the Treasury officials were swamped with applications; the American people had responded to the Government's call fully and overwhelmingly. Within fifteen days the inconceivable and unprecedented sum of nearly three billion of dollars had been offered to the Government, and the next day business continued as usual.

But America's contribution on the altar of war, big as it seems, was really an insignificant matter. Revised figures show that, exclusive of the American loan, the nations at war have raised and virtually expended a total of \$66,521,400,000. The amounts are:

|                       |                  |
|-----------------------|------------------|
| Great Britain .....   | \$21,021,400,000 |
| France .....          | 12,140,000,000   |
| Russia .....          | 8,535,000,000    |
| Italy .....           | 2,845,000,000    |
| Belgium .....         | 100,000,000      |
| Japan .....           | 26,000,000       |
| Serbia .....          | 18,000,000       |
| Germany .....         | 14,226,000,000   |
| Austria-Hungary ..... | 7,610,000,000    |

Total ..... \$66,521,400,000

It ought not to require any profound economic insight to convince us that these figures are alarming. They mean that the nations are robbing the cradles and multiplying the graves for many generations. This pyramiding of credits, substitution of paper bonds for real money, must work an infinite injury to savings banks, insurance organizations, charity work and education. Before this war began the nations of Europe were borrowing to pay the interest upon the war debt of a century before. It would seem that the present debts of the nations are beyond their power ever to pay. The United States may be able to stand for a time between the bondholders of Europe and repudiation. We will do so, but for how long no man can tell.

Congress has authorized five more billions in bonds, some of which will be offered in a few months. They will be subscribed. The taxes will come along shortly. They will be paid. We are all soon to feel the pinch. We shall bear it. The United States is with the other nations, a participant at last, in the war. Its matchless resources will help convince the Central powers of the hopelessness of their task. Our bit should therefore go far toward bringing the German Government to terms and ending the war. That this economic unity of the allied nations presages a new political unity is probable, but prophecy these days is difficult.

#### Church Work in War Time.

Religion, pure and undefiled, is having rather hard sledding these days. Peace-making is no sinecure.

The *World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship Through the Churches*, an international body which cooperates in the United States with the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and also with Protestant denominations not included in the Federal Council, holds its head up, however, war notwithstanding. It fearlessly challenges support in its effort to "Christianize international relations." It invites every church to establish an International Friendship Committee and every Christian to become a member. Recovering from the shock of our country at war, it comes to its task again, bravely pleading for adequate agencies for the settlement of international difficulties by means other than by war, for laws for the adequate protection of aliens, for right and friendly policies in our dealing with Orientals, for comprehensive immigration legislation free from race discrimination, for right relations with Mexico and Latin America, and adequate national relief and reconstruction funds for grappling with the frightful sufferings of Europe. Its slogan is, International Justice and Good Will. It frees itself from questions of church organization and doctrine, and, loyal to our government, it seeks to decide no issue relative to the present war.

The *Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America* is planning a handbook, soon to appear, entitled "The Church in Time of War." The book will contain the messages to the Council at Washington, May 8-9. It will aim also to set forth a guide for practical work for conserving economic, social, moral, and religious forces of the nation. That religious workers may be informed, the book will tell of the work of the army and navy chaplains, the Young Men's Christian Associations, of the social evils peculiar to war, of food production and distribution, of the preservation of democracy and national vitality, and discuss topics like the love of enemies, the freedom of conscience, and the

end of militarism. To the charge that the church has in this the greatest epoch of human history no worthy voice, the facts herein enumerated are at least in part an answer. Idealism in America is not dead, but liveth. The religious world of America is beginning to sense the meaning of the ancient seer: "Say ye not, A conspiracy, concerning all whereof this people shall say, A conspiracy; neither fear ye their fear, nor be in dread thereof. Jehovah of hosts, him shall ye sanctify; and let him be your fear, and let him be your dread."

#### Still More Religion.

But there are religious enterprises about us no less valuable than these fine efforts of the church. The "hand with leaves from the Tree of Life" is not withheld from the wounds received in battle. The "heart-breaking cry in the night" is heard. The Emergency Committee for the assistance of Germans, Austrians, and Hungarians in distress, convened by the Religious Society of Friends to aid innocent alien enemies in Great Britain rendered destitute by the war, is but one of a vast number of heartening facts. Men and women are already urging that no line of distinction be drawn between native-born citizens and those of foreign birth or parentage in America. A conference was held in Washington on Flag Day, June 14, for the purpose of promoting a policy of fair treatment for all foreign-born citizens in our land. But, furthermore, and far from least, our War Department is going vigorously after saloons, brothels, bawdy-houses, and houses of ill-fame in the zones surrounding the training camps of our army. The War Department is determined to protect our boys in the mobilization camps, officers' training camps, army and naval camps. From a long letter from the Secretary of War we glean this: "I am determined that our new training camps, as well as the surrounding zones within an effective radius, shall not be places of temptation and peril."

Thus the work of religion persists. The moral law will yet supersede the jungle law that "might makes right." As the veteran naturalist, John Burroughs, recently told the members of the American Academy of Arts and Letters: "Germany may become the dominant power in Europe, but that end will never be achieved by the force of arms, but by superior efficiency in the arts of peace. The new law of nature holds, that the nation which is most just and most humane shall prevail. The rule of might prevails throughout the world of matter and the life below man, and long prevailed in pre-human and human history. But the old law of nature has been limited and qualified by a new law which has come into the world and which is just as truly a biological law in its application to man as was the old law of might. I

refer to the law of man's moral nature, the sense of right, justice, mercy."

#### What of the German Americans?

George Sylvester Viereck utters in *The American Weekly* (erstwhile *The Fatherland*) an urgent appeal for the passing of the resolution recently introduced in the House by Congressman Britten, offering to Americans of German descent or birth and of conscription age the option of agricultural service.

The appeal is timely and poignant. Our Civil War saw brother against brother, and even father against son, each fighting willingly and incurring the horror of fratricide and worse for the convictions they held dear. The present war has presented numerous instances of the same thing—brothers dwelling within mutually hostile boundaries being compelled to take up arms against each other. Poland is a nation of such fratricides.

It would undoubtedly be to the shame of this nation should the Government compel its citizens of German extraction to make actual war upon their blood relatives. It is unreasonable to believe that any exemption court would refuse to transfer to other fields of emergency work a German who himself besought exemption and gave proof that he had blood relatives in the German Army. We think that Mr. Viereck may safely leave this to the American sense of justice, which, it may be, he imperfectly understands. At the same time, there are doubtless plenty of Americans of enemy extraction who firmly believe in the justice of our share in this war, and will under no circumstances plead for exemption. In such cases there seems to be no need for a special act of exemption, nor any excuse for it.

Such talk leads inevitably to the reflection that it is difficult to define the state of brotherhood, and still more so to make just laws relative to it. In one sense this whole ghastly performance is fratricide. On the other hand, blood brothers—brothers in the most limited sense of the word—have been known to cherish implacable hatred for each other. The matter of the Britten resolution would seem to us to be a private one, between each man of enemy affiliation and his own conscience. Certainly, here, as in other cases of conscientious scruples, the earnest and truthful objector to military service should be respected and given tasks in other lines of service. Such, as we understand it, is the intention of the Government at present.

#### The Fresh Air and Sunshine of Slaughter.

It does not seem necessary to make any elaborate comment on the following paragraph clipped from the *Army and Navy Journal*. We have read it over several times,

and are as yet uncertain whether tears or laughter better express our sentiments:

"Youth has always been regarded as a time of impetuosity, of rash enterprises, of the age among man's seven when he most liked to look upon 'the bright face of danger.' Our youthful contemporary, *The New Republic*, does not seem to be cast in this mold, however, which is revealed in its attitude toward the 'conscientious objector.' It seems to think that there is a quality we must allow for and tolerate, if not admire, in this type of man, and also of the numerous class that does not like to think of killing its fellow-men. We suppose that in the fullness of time, when the selective draft is in operation, and some of these very young and apparently bloodless men spend a few months receiving military instruction, they will learn that 'killing men' in the repulsive viewpoint they hold is the last thing military men think of. What they stand in need of is to be taken away from study of their souls and of 'cases' in the slums of the big cities and to get out into the fresh air and the sunshine where the voice of the drill sergeant will make them forget socialism and those nebulous mysteries which may be grouped under the head of higher criticism."

The temptation to parody this effusion is, of course, strong. The reader, as he peruses the above, will find his thoughts running naturally in somewhat of the following vein:

"Age may not unfairly be regarded as that period in man's life when experience has ripened into the fruit of charity, tolerance, and understanding, and when the bright face of wisdom smiles upon him. An exceptional case, however, is that of the *Army and Navy Journal*, of respectable antiquity among magazines, and the exception is particularly to be noted in its position upon the issue of the conscientious objector. For this citizen it has little charity, less understanding, and no tolerance. As Nature abhors a vacuum, so does this paper abhor the man so dull that he cannot kill his fellow-man without letting his mind and conscience rest unduly upon the act of killing. The true soldier, the *Journal* would have us understand, keeps his ideals high, and if he must needs crush and maim, tear and rend human flesh, extinguish guiltless life and bring unparalleled suffering into the world, he can at least so arrange his mental and spiritual equipment that in the midst of these horrid acts they themselves are the last things he thinks of. Let the conscientious poltroon forsake his dallying in the byways of poverty and human misery, let him put from his mind his puerile distress because of suffering and sorrow, let him but turn from these childish things and emerge into the gaiety and joyousness of the soldier's life, the school of the bayonet, the practice-ground of tearing fellow-men to tatters, the great, red-blooded university for human extinction, devastation, and obliteration, and there he will learn in time to forget his conscience, to be steeled against brotherly love, to laugh at the petty woes of 'the least of these,' and to fling from himself forever the reproach of susceptibility to those nebulous mysteries of Christ and Christliness which may be grouped under the head of higher criticism."

#### School as Usual.

Because of our nervous anxiety the feeling spread immediately after our entrance into the war that our boys and girls of secondary and higher educational institutions should leave school and "do their bit" toward the prosecution of the war. Some felt that the National Educational Association of the United States should postpone its meeting called for July 7-14, at Portland, Oregon. The officers of that worthy organization have concluded, however, that one of the things most needed in this country at the present time is the maintenance of as nearly normal educational conditions as possible during the period when we are changing from a peace basis to a war basis. It has taken the ground that there never has been a time when the opportunity for serious constructive thinking with regard to educational problems was more needed than now. The educators are quite right in their assumption that loyalty to our country demands that we study the problems with which we are confronted; that if the war is of short duration the services of the children in our public schools will not be needed, and that if the war shall be of long duration the services of the children should be directed in channels the value of which shall be determined only after careful investigation and consideration. The Portland meeting is to be held, therefore. The key words of the meeting will be "preparedness, patriotism, and nationalism." The school men are planning to come together at Portland with the same spirit that the experts in business affairs are coming together in support of the Government.

Dr. P. P. Claxton, United States Commissioner of Education, is aiding the school men in their efforts to enable the boys and girls best to "do their bit" by remaining at school. President Wilson has found it wise to counsel the children to remain at their tasks. And this is as it should be. Our boys and girls constitute the Nation's last line of defense, and if this is to be a long war they will eventually be our first line of defense when that time arrives. They should be fit for the job. September should find our educational institutions prepared to carry on school as usual.

#### The Martyrs' Mobilization.

The first call for martyrs has been issued by the Woman's Peace Party, of 70 Fifth avenue, New York City. According to press reports, the party voted to advise its followers to write upon their registration blanks, on June 5, a protest against compulsory service and a declaration that they would go to jail rather than submit to conscription. While we believe that each man's conscience should be his judge of whether he will or not engage in slaughter for his country's sake, yet it seems

to us this behest of this Woman's Peace Party savors of "looking for trouble." It would seem to us also that should a man's convictions on this subject be so strong that he would suffer persecution rather than waver in his attitude, that same man would feel no need of shout-

ing about this beforehand. A third reflection is, that it will be most embarrassing to these self-appointed martyrs, should the Government, as seems not unlikely, respect their conscientious objections and evince no slightest desire to put the gentlemen in prison.

## DISARMAMENT AND PEACE\*

By HON. JAMES L. SLAYDEN, President, American Peace Society

FOUR, five, or possibly six years ago I read a great speech by the member of the House of Commons for the division of Carnarvon, Wales. It was an eloquent plea for arbitration and the settlement of international disputes by the method of courts, and a specially strong and convincing argument for an agreed reduction of national armaments. That great democrat and advocate of peace is now the Premier of the British Empire. His wonderful speech in London of April 12 shows that he holds the same views still.

I am not one of that class of pacifists which believes it possible entirely to prevent war, at least not just yet, and refuses to discuss it except from the point of view of its absolute and immediate ending. But I do believe that it is possible, by arrangements between governments that now thoroughly appreciate the cost of wars and are beginning to understand their stupidity and futility, to make them comparatively harmless.

Out in the Southwest I once knew a man who called himself a snake merchant. His chief article of trade was that dangerous and repulsive reptile, the rattlesnake. He would handle his merchandise in a way that made the onlooker shiver; but he knew what they did not—that he had made the snakes harmless by pulling their fangs. Now, that is precisely what I would like to do to aggressive and belligerent governments that covet the lands and sovereignties of other nations. I would pull their fangs by taking away from them nearly all the military forces that foolish and confiding people have put at the command of kings. Ambitious monarchs can be made comparatively harmless by reducing the size of armies so much that they will cease to be anything more than a police force. Then they will serve a useful purpose at home and cease to be a menace abroad.

One soldier to each 1,000 people in any country is enough to keep internal peace in a just government, and if governments are not just the sooner they are overturned the better. But if one soldier to each 1,000 is not enough, two surely will be, and international agreement should prevent any government from going beyond that.

Suppose the federated German Empire had only controlled an army of 75,000 men in 1914, or, taking the larger figure I have suggested, 150,000; would there have been an invasion of Belgium, whose chief offense was that she lay in the highway between Berlin and Paris? Would Liege, Louvain, Dinant, Ypres, and Rheims now be in ruins and their priceless treasures of

books, pictures, and architecture forever lost to the world? Armies of the size I suggest could not have done all that mischief, yet they would be large enough to keep the criminal classes under control, while utterly unable to thwart democracy's right to break the shackles of oppression, which is always imposed from above by the aid of the autocrat's military arm.

Can we ever get the consent of governments to a general disarmament? I believe so; and I furthermore believe that never in the history of the world has there been such an opportunity for this greatest of all reforms as we will see at the close of the war in Europe.

The cost of modern war will plead for it and will finally compel it. Great Britain is now spending \$10,000,000 more each day in the prosecution of war than the Army of the United States cost in any one of the 24 years from 1875 down to and including 1899.

The belligerent powers of Europe are spending more money each day than the average annual cost of the whole Government of the United States between 1800 and 1861.

In 1865 the total cost of our Government, outside the Post Office Department, was \$1,295,099,290, and the cost per capita in that most expensive year of the Civil War was \$37.27.

Last year, when we were at peace with everybody but Pancho Villa, and, perhaps, on occasions, with Carranza, our taxes per capita were nearly \$15.

Contrast that with the \$4.43 per head paid during Cleveland's administration for all expenses outside the Post Office Department, and contrast it with the \$85 per head you will have to pay for the next year, and charge the increased cost to war and excessive preparation for war.

We in America may stand such burdens a few years more, but Europe cannot. All these vast sums, both in Europe and America, must come out of the sweat and toil of the man who works. But even that long-suffering class is beginning to think and assert its rights.

Already there is talk of repudiation in Europe, but not, of course, by officials of the contending powers, for they are still trying to borrow, but by students of the world-wide madness, who realize that there is a limit to the burdens that men can bear. That outcome would be hard on those who have put their earnings into the notes of Russia, Germany, Austria, France, Italy, and the United Kingdom, but in the long run it might not be bad for the mass of men. If excessive armaments and war credits should both be abolished it will lead to a long period of peace.

The theory that huge military preparation assures

\*Selected by the Editor from an address by Mr. Slayden at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, April 20, 1917.